

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

## DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

1 November 1984

## PROSPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR USSR OF GANDHI ASSASSINATION

The assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has cost the USSR one of its most important allies in the Third World. Nonetheless, over the short term the USSR is likely to maintain its position as the predominant outside influence in New Delhi. The two countries share common security concerns about China, the US, and Pakistan as well as common fears about the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. In view of the significant military and economic ties between Moscow and New Delhi, the Soviets will be well placed to manipulate India's heightened security concerns in the aftermath of the assassination and to establish good working relations with Indira's successor, her son Rajiv. Nonetheless, the Soviets' ability to manipulate Indian internal affairs is limited, and over the long term New Delhi could become a less forceful advocate for Soviet positions in Nonaligned and Third World forums. [redacted]

25X1

Although the Soviets have worked painstakingly to institutionalize the relationship, Gandhi's role in forging the present close relationship has been pivotal. No other leading Indian politician is as well disposed toward the

DUP of C05285170 RIP

This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] the Third World Activities Division, Office of Soviet Analysis. It has been coordinated with the Office of Near East and South Asia Analysis. Questions and comments are welcome and may be addressed to the Chief, Third World Activities, SOVA on [redacted]

25X1

25X1

SOVA M 84-10191

25X1

USSR as she was. Gandhi traded on the relationship to extract benefits from the USSR--notably licensed production rights for advanced Soviet military equipment--that have been provided to no other Soviet Third World client.

25X1

Moscow appreciated Gandhi's personal role in the relationship. In the last year or so especially, Moscow was concerned about Indira Gandhi's declining domestic support and--as a result--timed high-level visits and agreements to strengthen her position before the elections that are scheduled for January.

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

The Soviets did not take seriously Gandhi's effort to promote her younger son Sanjay as her successor but did not make the same mistake when Rajiv became the heir apparent after Sanjay's death in 1980. In 1983, he was invited to Moscow for a two week visit and given treatment normally reserved for chiefs of state. He had meetings with all the senior leadership (including Defense Minister Ustinov and all the service chiefs) except General Secretary Andropov. In his public pronouncements after the visit, he echoed his mother's anti-Western biases, particularly her charges of Western and Pakistani involvement in Indian internal affairs.

25X1

The Soviets clearly anticipated that Rajiv would succeed his mother; the first Soviet condolence message to the Indians was sent by General Secretary Chernenko to Rajiv Gandhi in his capacity as General Secretary of the Congress Party, not to Zail Singh, the constitutional head of state. In view of their misgivings about the possible influence of Rajiv's Italian wife and his sympathies toward the West prior to his entry into politics, the Soviets will presumably spare no effort to ingratiate themselves with Rajiv in order to advance Soviet interests.

25X1

None of India's other non-Communist political parties have had the same commitment to close Indo-Soviet ties over the years as the Congress Party and no other Indian politician in the Congress Party has as good a chance as Rajiv to ensure continued Congress domination of Indian politics. Memories of the 1977-79 Janata coalition, when Indian foreign policy was more even-handed toward the US and the USSR and there was talk of abrogating the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty, are still fresh in Moscow and probably an important factor in Soviet calculations.

25X1

Continued differences with Pakistan will ensure that India requires strong links to the USSR in any event. Moreover, the Soviets probably will do what they can in the coming weeks and months to strengthen Rajiv's internal political position and to try to ensure that his commitment to the Indo-Soviet relationship becomes as firm as his mother's. The Soviet delegation to the funeral, probably headed by Premier Tikhonov, will take steps to show Moscow's approval of the succession. Part of the effort will involve attempting to fan Indian suspicions of the US and Pakistan; Soviet propaganda organs already are

charging that Gandhi's assassins got their ideological inspiration from CIA. The new Indian Defense Minister was in Moscow at the time of the assassination for talks on further defense cooperation between India and the USSR. The Soviets will use that relationship to try to buttress ties with the Indians and underscore the USSR's key role as India's major arms supplier. Economic aid and trade relationships will also be manipulated to underscore Moscow's commitment to India's economic development under Rajiv. [REDACTED]

25X1

Whether this succeeds depends primarily on Rajiv's leadership abilities. If Rajiv can keep the lid on internal retribution against the Sikhs and use his mother's assassination to strengthen the Congress Party or if the opposition fragments in the absence of Indira as a unifying force, the Soviets could emerge with their influence enhanced and the relationship on a more secure footing. [REDACTED]

25X1

If, on the other hand, Rajiv--as many Indian experts believe--proves to be a weak and ineffective leader, and an opposition coalition manages to defeat Congress, the Soviets could be dealing with a much different Indian leadership six months from now than they have been accustomed to over the past four years. Such a leadership probably would not move quickly to dismantle the important bilateral economic and military relationships--which would remain important to any Indian leadership--but it could distance itself from the Soviets on such international issues as Afghanistan, the Indian Ocean, Kampuchea, and India's relations with its neighbors. Opposition politicians, for example, have criticized Gandhi for her support of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and her hegemonistic attitude toward dealing with India's neighbors. [REDACTED]

25X1

#### Implications for the US

Overt and covert Soviet efforts to implicate the US and Pakistan will have credibility in some circles in India. The Pakistanis fear--probably on good grounds--a sharp deterioration in their bilateral relations as India seeks scapegoats for Gandhi's assassination. Any worsening of relations with India will bring General Zia to the United States for additional military assistance. The Soviets, on the other hand, probably fear that Washington will signal support to the new government in India and, in doing so, will try to loosen Indo-Soviet ties. The Soviets will presumably try to manipulate Indian internal affairs to prevent any improved role for Washington. [REDACTED]

25X1

25X1

**SUBJECT: Prospects and Implications for USSR of Gandhi  
Assassination**

**Internal Distribution**

**Orig - DCI**

**DDCI**

**SA/DCI**

**ED/DCI**

**Executive Registry**

**DDI**

**Senior Review Panel**

**OCPAS/IMD/CB**

**Vice Chairman, NIC**

**NIO/USSR-EE**

**NIO/NESA**

**PDB Staff**

**C/DDO/SE**

**C/DDO/NE**

**C/DDO/PAB**

**C/DDO/SAO**

**C/DDO/SE**

**OCPAS**

25X1

25X1

25X1

**DDI Rep SAC**

**DDI Rep CINCLANT**

**DDI Rep CINCPAC**

**• DDI Rep MATC**

**C/DDO/SE**

**C/DDO/NE**

**FBIS/AG**

**D/NESA**

**C/NESA/SOA**

**C/NESA/PAB**

**C/NESA/SOS**

**D/SOVA**

**C/SOVA/PA**

**C/SOVA/TF**

**C/SOVA/SF**

**C/SOVA/EA**

**C/SOVA/DI**

**C/SOVA/SE**

25X1

25X1

25X1

**SUBJECT: Prospects and Implications for USSR of Gandhi  
Assassination**

**Internal Distribution (Continued)**

C/SOVA/TW

C/SOVA/TW/A

C/SOVA/TW/T

C/SOVA/TW/M

SOVA/TW/A

SOVA/TW/A/Typescript file

25X1

DDI/SOVA/TWA/A (1 Nov 84)

25X1

25X1

SUBJECT: Prospects and Implications for USSR of Gandhi  
Assassination

External Distribution

NSC

Admiral John M. Poindexter  
Military Assistant, National Security Affairs  
White House

Ambassador Jack Matlock  
Senior Staff Member, USSR-Eastern Europe  
Room 368, Old EOB

Geoffrey Kemp  
Senior Staff Member, Middle East  
Room 351, Old EOB

State Department

Michael Armacost  
Under Secretary for Political Affairs  
Room 7240

Stephen Bosworth  
Chairman, Policy Planning Council  
Room 7311

Phillip S. Kaplan  
Staff Director, SP  
Room 7316

Robie M. Palmer  
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for  
European and Canadian Affairs  
Room 6219

Thomas W. Simons, Jr.  
Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs  
Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs  
Room 4217

David Satterfield  
Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs  
Room 6244

Victor Tomseth  
Director, INS  
Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs  
Room 5251

**SUBJECT: Prospects and Implications for USSR of Gandhi  
Assassination**

**External Distribution (Continued)**

**State Department**

Hugh Montgomery  
Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Room 6531

George S. Harris  
Director, Office of Analysis for Near East and  
South Asia, INR  
Room 4524A

Robert H. Baraz  
Director, Office of Analysis for the Soviet Union  
and Eastern Europe, INR  
Room 4758

**Department of Defense**

Richard Armitage  
Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs  
Room 4E809, Pentagon

Admiral Arthur S. Moreau, Jr.  
JCS  
Room 2E782, Pentagon

Deputy Assistant Secretary  
Major General Edward Tixier  
Room 4D675, Pentagon

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary  
Noel C. Koch  
OSD/ISA  
Room 4E813, Pentagon

Wynfred Joshua, DIA  
DIO, European and Soviet Political Affairs  
Room 2C238, Pentagon

Colonel Al Prados, DIA  
DIO for NESA  
Room 2C238, Pentagon

**SUBJECT: Prospects and Implications for USSR of Gandhi  
Assassination**

**External Distribution (Continued)**

**Department of Defense**

Ron Zwart  
OSD/ISA/NESA  
Room 4D765, Pentagon

Captain Robert G. Anderson  
JCS/PPD/FESA  
Room 2D973, Pentagon